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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing problem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very careful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of this fragmented community are related through competition for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sarakatsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent.

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son.

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59 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after
581 his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is
602 unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person
581 outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and
[602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Méditerranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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IV

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

1. THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

I HAVE said that the Sarakatsan family is an isolated and autonomous social group and I have stressed the moral solidarity which characterizes the relations of its members. But the Sarakatsan family, like all domestic groupings, passes through a cycle of development which in this instance begins with the marriage of a man with a woman and normally ends with the final division of the family's flocks between their sons one or two years after the youngest has married. An examination of some aspects of this process makes it possible to give an account of the institutions governing the redistribution of rights over property and persons which accompanies the development of new families and the dispersion of the older groups which have brought them into being. But the autonomy, solidarity, and isolation of the family make this transition difficult and critical. It is not only that it causes individuals real psychological distress when a girl at her marriage must abandon the family of her birth or when another family must receive a strange woman into the circle of their close and exclusive relationships. The marriages of any group of siblings have to be arranged in such a way that the family derives the maximum of prestige from them; and also that individuals relinquish their obligations to the family of origin only when these have been fulfilled, or have been safely delegated to another unmarried member of the group.

A description of the cycle of family development serves a second purpose. It documents the changing relations in the sibling group which are precipitated by the marriages of its members. The solution of the conflict between parents' newly assumed obligations to infant children and their long established duties and affections to siblings and parents in the family of origin, illustrates the distinction between the relatives of the family and the collateral relatives of the kindred. Indeed, this conflict is, as it were, the growing point of the distinction.

In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to

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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers. 605 [581]

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom. 604

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kinsmen together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kinship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the
[583] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison
583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of
● 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower.
[127] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which,
577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and discussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their
581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the
602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the
602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.

[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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585 602 578 577 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 The elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [587] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 593 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρὴ, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 581

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[581] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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596 826 828 [577] he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 551 [554] The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except [553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is [885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing [737] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to take the only honourable action. In an affair between two second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid
grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of 888
low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in 754
arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and
women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type 156
personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. 577
And if a man lives in conformity with these normative ex- 562
pectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honour- 561
able. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned.

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

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If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is 683
believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved 156
by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds 577
in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly [784]
believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals.

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[1]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[1] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep.

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred.

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters.

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of

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marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers, in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women', whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
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However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
431 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality:
R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
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586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 581 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

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474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
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[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
197 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
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596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

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682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in 682 627 628 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 628 613 [581] --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 627 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently

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682 627 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 629 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

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33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the [562] young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

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Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

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182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
596 masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

571 Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
471 by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
434 (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
454 profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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